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NATIONAL STATUS AND COGNATE SUBJECTS IN THE CANADIAN CENSUS

The national status of Canada has been in the forefront of political discussion since the Great War, and more especially since the Imperial Conference of 1926, when Canada and the other Dominions were explicitly recognized as (to quote the Report of the Imperial Conference, 1926) "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or foreign affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". As a by-product of this discussion, the question has been asked, How is Canadian Nationality and its concomitants being recorded by the Census, the great measuring rod of the Canadian people in all such matters. Who are "Canadians", how do they "qualify" as such, and what is their exact number? Some confusion has naturally characterized certain of the views expressed, for the subject is many-sided and not easy to dispose of in a phrase. Yet undoubtedly we should have clear and accurate data on a matter so vital.

The present article deals with the section of the population census referred to above, namely the eight or nine questions (out of a grand total of 36) which relate directly or indirectly to what may be defined in general terms as "political" or "national" status.

Phases of the Subject

In the first place, it is essential to realize that there are several distinct points of view from which political status may be illumined -- in other words as to what constitutes a "Canadian". These criteria include: first, birthplace or country of nativity, which confers certain rights and status upon the individual; second, nationality or country of allegiance, a legal concept which goes considerably farther than birthplace; third, origin or country of ancestry, whether immediate or remote, a concept which includes race and other cultural considerations; and fourth, language, which again approaches the subject from a new and special angle. To a certain extent, religion also enters into the picture. Let us discuss what it is essential to bring out under each of these headings in turn, remembering all the time that the complete and final view is obtained by considering them not singly or in isolation, but in the mass and interrelation with each other. The Census is a method adjusted to a general end; it is futile to consider almost any one of its questions (each one of which must be simple and clear-cut) in and by itself alone.

Birthplace or Nativity

The census begins its enquiries on political status, as above said, with the subject of birthplace or nativity. Each and every person is asked to state the country where he or she was born. In answering this question, everyone: born in Canada is entered as of "Canadian" birth; everyone born outside of Canada is entered as of the country in which his or her birth took place. Incidentally in enumerating the Canadian-born, the province of birth is also obtained, as throwing a light on the movement of Canadians within their own boundaries; it is very interesting to trace, for example, the extent to which our West has been peopled from the older provinces. In the case of countries whose boundaries were altered by the war, the province or city is obtained so as to make allocation in the census reports precise.

Thus in tabulating the results of this question, we get the following broad classifications: (1), those who are Canadians by birth, with the province of birth; (2), those of "other British" birth, i.e., those born in the British Isles or in other parts of the British Empire - these being fellow "British subjects" (unless they have renounced their British Allegiance); and (3), the "foreign-born" according to countries, who may or may not have become Canadian nationals and British subjects.

In two further questions under the heading of birthplace or nativity, the birthplace of the father and of the mother, respectively, of each person is obtained. These questions throw light on the duration of the family residence in Canada. If both the father and the mother, as well as the person himself, have been born in Canada, the family is clearly of three generations' residence in Canada, as the father and mother could not have been of Canadian birth unless

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the grandparents were also in Canada. In 1921, the number of Canadians of the third generation or more, according to this enumeration, was 4,857,523. (Naturally the French bulked largest in this category, accounting for 2,295,986). In other cases only one of the two parents may have been born in Canada (there were 713,447 of these in 1921); this throws a further gloss on duration of family residence and on certain phases of intermarriage. In cases where the parents were born outside of the country we have a record of the local source or origin of the family which is useful as a check, though the point is covered elsewhere.

Immigrant Population

Following logically on the questions relating to birthplace, the Census asks two questions that pertain exclusively to persons born outside of Canada. The first of these questions asks the "year of immigration"; the second, the "year of naturalization".

From the former we know the exact "age" of the immigrant population as Canadian residents, i.e., the length of their domicile in Canada, and are able to analyse the same from various points of view. Comparing these records with the annual immigration returns, for example, we can derive some very interesting information, particularly as to the fluidity of our immigrant population.

(Thus we know that in 1921 the total immigrant population of Canada was 1,955,736. (an increase of 368,775 as compared with 1911), made up of 854,890 who came to the country during the decade 1911-21, of 742,072 who came during 1901-11, and of 330,073 who came before 1901. As we know from the immigration returns that 1,780,688 immigrants arrived in Canada between 1911 and 1921, clearly a total of 1,411,913 immigrants either emigrated or died during the decade. Of these 980,000 were immigrants who had arrived during the decade, 400,000 (making allowance for deaths) were immigrants who had come to the country in 1901-1911, while 300,000 were immigrants who had arrived prior to 1901. Facts like these are most important to have available in judging the success of our efforts in building up population by immigration.)

Not all our immigrants are outside-born; we have a few who were once Canadians but subsequently obtained domicile or citizenship in another country, coming back to Canada now for permanent residence. The Immigration Department regards a Canadian who has lived three years or more in another country as an "immigrant" if and when he returns permanently to Canada. The Department also maintains statistics of "returned Canadians" from the United States, i.e., of Canadians, apart from students and travellers, who have gone to the United States for seasonal or other employment, but have returned before being three years absent. The latter, of course, are not "immigrants".

The "year of immigration" question in the Census applies to both "British and "foreign" immigrants. The next question, however, "year of naturalization", applies only to the foreigner, (i.e., the non-British subject), who alone requires "naturalization", the latter being the process of admitting the foreigner to Canadian citizenship. The question of naturalization and the years thereof is important as showing the relative extent and rapidity with which our foreign immigrants of various nationalities throw in their lot politically with the country of their adoption. The Naturalization Act (R.S. Canada, 1927, c.138) provides that the following persons shall be deemed to be British subjects and therefore requiring only domicile and not naturalization to become Canadian citizens.

- (a) "Any person born within His Majesty's dominions and allegiance; and
- (b) "Any person born out of His Majesty's dominions, whose father was a British subject at the time of that person's birth and either was born within His Majesty's allegiance or was a person to whom a certificate of naturalization had been granted; and
- (c) "Any person born on board a British ship whether in foreign territorial waters or not".

Provided (1) "that the child of a British subject, whether that child was born before or after the passing of this Act, shall be deemed to have been born within His Majesty's allegiance if born in a place where by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance, or other lawful means, His Majesty exercises jurisdiction over British subjects."

(2) "The wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject."

(3) "A woman, who, having been an alien, has by or in consequence of her marriage become a British subject, shall not, by reason only of death of her husband or the dissolution of her marriage, cease to be a British subject."

Nationality

We now come to the question proper of nationality or citizenship. The terms "national", "nationality", "nationalist", "nationalism", are often used in a loose or general, though perfectly understandable way. The Census, which must be specific and clear cut, has a distinct question devoted to the subject. For Census purposes, the root idea of nationality is "to what country do you owe political allegiance?" Every Canadian citizen or national, i.e., every person owing allegiance to Canada, is entered in this column of the census as "Canadian".

The basic legal definition of Canadian nationality is to be found in the Immigration Act, which defines a Canadian citizen as including three categories: (1) any person born in Canada who has not subsequently become the citizen of a foreign state; (2) any British subject who has been domiciled for five years in Canada; (3) any subject of a foreign power who has become naturalized and has not subsequently become an alien or lost Canadian domicile. †

The part which Canada played in the negotiating of the Peace Treaty and her subsequent enrollment as a member of the League of Nations necessitated an enlargement of the terms of the Immigration Act above cited. In other words, there arose the need of an official definition of the term "Canadian citizen" as distinct from "British subject" - a definition that would be internationally recognized. An act was accordingly passed by the Parliament of Canada in 1922 entitled "An act to define Canadian nationals and to provide for the renunciation of Canadian nationality" (R.S. Canada, 1927, c.21). It defined a Canadian national as, (1) any British subject who is a Canadian citizen within the meaning of the Immigration Act; (2) the wife of any such person; and (3) any person born out of Canada whose father was a Canadian national at the time of that person's birth, or, with regard to persons born before the passing of the Act, any person whose father at the time of such birth possessed all the qualifications of a Canadian national as defined in the Act. It went on to describe the procedure necessary in the renunciation of Canadian citizenship. Thus there is now a statute establishing a class of "Canadian citizen" within the wider class of "British subject". No one can be a Canadian citizen without being a British subject, but there was a time when persons were admitted to naturalization in Canada who could not qualify as British subjects outside of Canada.

Under the section as to children above cited, a child born of Canadian parents in a foreign country retains his Canadian citizenship up to the age of 21 (providing his parents have retained theirs), or until he elects to be a citizen either of the country in which he was born or of some other country.

It will be seen from the above that Canadian nationality has several bases. The Census covers each of the phases that have been mentioned, and though instances where inexact definitions are given to the enumerator may occur (in the case perhaps of Canadians who have adopted foreign allegiance and have not been formally repatriated on returning to Canada), there is no reason to believe that it will not obtain a substantially accurate measurement of this highly important phase of the national life.

Of course the sum total of Canadian nationals is not ascertainable through the Canadian Census alone. That total includes Canadians who have left Canada for permanent domicile elsewhere, retaining their Canadian citizenship. The only source of information for these individuals is the censuses of the countries in which they are living. We know, for example, that in 1920 there were 1,124,925 persons residing in the United States who had been born in Canada. Of these, 345,557 had retained their Canadian citizenship.

Origin

The next phase of the subject covered by the Census deals with the "origin" or source from which the Canadian population has been derived. The information sought under this heading is popularly described as involving the concept of "race", but this is not always the case. In a biological and ethnological sense, the term "race" signifies a physical differentiation (as in shape of head, stature, color of

† R.S. Canada, 1927, chap. 93, sec. (27,(b)).

skin, etc.) between groups of the human species, such as exists between the black and white races, or under the latter heading between the Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean groups. Obviously the Census cannot pursue enquiry to any length in a field of the latter character, the more so as ethnologists themselves are by no means agreed upon the principles of race classification. Yet some valuable light is thrown by the Census upon this region. The practical procedure is as follows:

First, all persons of the black, yellow, red or brown races are entered as Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Indian, Malayan as the case may be, (orientals being segregated by country of origin). Obviously it is obligatory, so long as legislation like our Chinese Immigration Act, or special arrangements like those with regard to Japanese and Hindu immigration exist, that we should know the exact situation in Canada having regard to which these policies are formulated. In the case likewise of the Canadian aborigines the enumeration is on distinctly racial lines.

For the remaining elements of the population, those namely which derived originally from Europe,-- consisting in the main of the descendants of the French, English, Irish, Scotch, German and other European colonists,-- the question as to "origin" usually elicits the original place of residence and implied cultural surroundings of the family before its transfer to the North American continent. In most cases, therefore, the replies to the census question indicate the country or section of Europe from which the family originally came,-- as English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, Dutch, German, Polish, Ukrainian, etc. etc.,-- each of which is relatively homogeneous from a cultural standpoint.

The term "origin", therefore, as used by the census, has a combined biological, cultural and geographical significance. It suggests whence our people come and the implied biological strain and cultural background. Following popular usage, the terms, "English stock", "French stock", "Italian stock", etc., are employed to describe the sum total of the biological and cultural characteristics which distinguish such groups from others.

Of course in the case of the descendants of the original French colonists, who possess certain definite rights under the Canadian Constitution now of a century and a half standing, and who number nearly one-third of the present population of Canada, there is a further and very special obligation to record their origin. From a population of not over 80,000 at the outside at the time of the British conquest of 1760, the French stock has grown to a total (between Canada and the United States) little short of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions today.

In tracing origin in the case of those of European descent the line is through the father. By applying this rule rigorously, those of mixed family origin are (by the law of large numbers) resolved with a fair degree of accuracy into their constituent elements. Family name is often an index: (Miller is English, but Mueller is German). For Indians, the line is through the mother, and the tribe name is likewise ascertained, as Chippewa, Blackfoot, Cree, etc. All who are found on Indian reserves as wards of the Government are counted as Indians. In the case of the black or yellow races, persons deriving through either parent are so named.

In 1921 there were in Canada 2,545,496 of English, 2,452,751 of French, 1,173,637 of Scottish, 1,107,817 of Irish and 294,636 of German origin. Outside of those of French origin, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions were of three generations or more family residence in the country. Only 18,000 were unable to indicate the origin of their family.

Canada is still recruiting her population to a large degree from outside sources. Her main problem in this connection is the assimilation of diverse elements into a national unity. Such features as illiteracy, the tendency to learn and speak the national languages, the tendency to crime, very distinctly as between different stocks. Illiteracy, for example, persists among the population, sometimes for several generations, very much in direct relation to origin, notwithstanding the uniform operation of Canadian conditions and environment. Inter-marriage likewise varies within Northern and Northwestern European stocks and those of Southeastern Europe. Knowledge of this kind is not of theoretical interest alone, but invades the field of "practical politics". The United States has definitely adopted a policy of restricted immigration based on considerations of the present origin content of its population.

Language

The language spoken by the people of a country has a distinct bearing upon its problems of nationality and assimilation. With the exception of religion, no individual right or heritage is more highly prized or more jealously guarded. In Canada French as well as English has been an official language from the earliest times.

The Census asks three questions of each person as to language: (1), Whether he or she can speak English; (2), Whether he or she can speak French; and (3), What language is spoken at mother tongue. By mother tongue is meant the language commonly spoken in the home; in the case of immigrants it is usually the language of customary speech before coming to Canada.

As already said, it is important for various reasons, and especially from the standpoint of assimilation, to measure the extent to which foreign languages are habitually spoken in Canada. Of the population over 10 years of age in Canada over 4 millions speak English in the home, over 1½ millions speak French, while 235,000 speak German, over 187,000 speak Slavic and over 104,000 speak one or other of the Scandinavian tongues. Of 850,000 foreign-born, 750,000 can speak English.

It is also interesting to observe the trends as between the use of the two official languages of the country, English and French. Of the population over ten years of age in Canada, 85 per cent can speak English, the dominant language, and 29.89 can speak French. As to the extent to which those of British and French origin respectively in Canada speak each other's language, it is interesting to note that of the 1,771,077 of French descent in Canada above ten years of age, 878,850 speak both English and French, 869,872 speak French alone, and 19,092 speak English alone. Among those of British descent, 3,652,030 speak English alone, and only 176,870 speak both English and French; there is in addition a group of 4,664 who speak French alone--mostly the descendants of early British settlers in Quebec.

Religion

Finally, the Census requires each person to state what is the religious denomination or community to which he or she adheres or belongs, or which he or she favours. The census in many countries omits any question as to religion because of its decidedly personal nature. In such cases the need is met by data periodically collected from the headquarters of the various churches. The latter method, though it secures a mass of valuable details regarding church membership and finance, does not include non-adherents to an organized denomination. In Canada, therefore, a question on religion has always appeared in the census, where it has proved valuable in conjunction with the data on nativity, race, origin and language. It is of course not easy, in view of the wide variations in religious faiths, to secure clear-cut definitions in each and every case, but the more important religious bodies are well covered. In the next census special efforts will be made to avoid confusion. For example, adherents of the Greek Catholic church will be sharply differentiated from adherents of the Greek Orthodox church; Presbyterians and others within the United Church must be distinguished from those who have remained outside of that organization; and so on. The census question may also be supplemented by a schedule addressed to the central organizations of the various churches in the manner above described, for purposes of checking, and for the securing of important detail.

Conclusion

The matters briefly treated in the foregoing are, as stated at the outset, only a part of the large field covered by the Census. Preceding them in the census schedule, such primary subjects as age, sex and conjugal condition, are dealt with, while a following section is devoted to such economic aspects as occupation, earnings, unemployment, and still others to education, physical disabilities, etc. In all sections alike the conditions under which census-taking is carried out must be borne in mind. The questions, as will have been seen, affect some of the most fundamental and many-sided interests of the individual. Yet they must not only be rigidly

restricted in number (not more than 35 or 40 for the whole gamut are feasible) but they must be handled in a simple and even colloquial way. For the latter the reasons are obvious. Over 14,000 enumerators will be required to take the 1931 Census of Canada. They must be recruited at a moderate wage, - and they must be instructed in terms capable of the easiest understanding and interpretation. To employ highly trained (and by implication highly-salaried) men for this work is doubtless desirable--but already the cost of collecting the Census data will be well nigh \$2½ millions. Again, the enumerators must collect their information from "the man on the street", unfamiliar with the full purport of census methods, or with the reasons for each and every item of procedure. Nevertheless it is of supreme importance that the people themselves have confidence in the necessity of the census questions and that they furnish with complete goodwill the information for which these questions call. It is hoped that the preceding discussion will help to clarify thought in this regard and to enlist the sympathetic co-operation of the public.

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